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THE Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B.A.

VOL. 4.] THURSDAY JUNE 5, 1919. [No. 7.

The **Hindu Message** stands for

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A Vision Of India.

THE COCOANUT PALM—II.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

With graceful heads here shine the clust'ring palms
And like a band of pilgrims come from far
They bring a Message from sun, moon, and star
And raptures sweet of deep ecstatic calms
To tortured hearts they bring the healing balms
Of peaceful life that knows no inner war
And rise on Nature's slow procession-car
From birth to fruitage 'midst the calms and storms.
The changing seasons and the changing skies,
Around them burn and cool and shine and gloom
And bring their fullest dower of shade and light,
They light in souls Joy's happy paradise
And shine with wealth of radiant beauty's bloom
And fill with happiness our heart and sight.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 5 JUNE 1919.

The Minutes of Dissent by Sir Sankaran Nair.

Sir Sankaran Nair has written two minutes of dissent in connection with the proposed Indian Reforms, one on the Despatch of the Government of India dated the 5th of March last and the other on the Southborough Committee Reports on franchise and division of functions. Both of them are masterly documents, unique in the annals of India for their outspokenness and courageous exposition. The more we read them the more are we convinced of the intense patriotism of the master hand that drew those documents. Holding as he did the exalted position of a member of the Government of India and with the sense of full responsibility which that position imposes on him, he has done a distinct service to his countrymen by drawing up these minutes and thereby thoroughly exposing the hollowness of those who claim that they advocate responsible Government for India. But for his onerous position these minutes would not have secured so much attention from all quarters though Sir Sankaran Nair, apart from his office, is held in very high estimation by the public. We were wondering how a man of his stamp possessing such independence of spirit and liberality of views could be a silent party to all the reactionary doings of the Government of which he was a member. We could now easily infer that his position was not an enviable bed of roses and that he had a very rough time of it in placing before his colleagues the Indian view of every question that came up for consideration. His is not the nature to silently acquiesce or to meekly vote. He is not a fatalist and there is no "I cant" in his dictionary. Come what may, he will do his duty honestly and fearlessly. That is why in spite of all annoyances to his conscience he was alert at his post till the moment when he could do the most signal service possible for one to do for his country under the present circumstances. His minutes are sure to influence the course of events in England in connection with the shaping and the passage of the Reforms Bill in the Houses of Parliament. He is not faltering or vague in his expressions. He speaks out his mind clearly and unequivocally. He knows full well that now is the fittest opportunity to speak out candidly and press forward the just claims of India. In the interests of peace, order and good government of the country a liberal measure of reform, marking a substantial step on the road to self-government, is absolutely essential and urgent under the existing conditions of the country. Sir Sankaran says emphatically :—

If sedition had its origin in Bombay, it would be noticed that this was due to the harsh administration of the plague regulations by a Collector, which would have been impossible if the Indian element was powerful in the government of the country. Similarly the course of maladministration by the Government of Eastern Bengal, which was responsible for the growth of real Bengal sedition, would also have been practically difficult. Under the law which we have recently passed and under certain regulations which were passed at the commencement of the last century to meet certain exceptional classes of cases, it would

be open to an Executive Government in a province to deprive a man of his liberty and of his freedom of speech without the orders of the Magistrate or any other judicial tribunal. The press may also be deprived of its freedom by executive action, the ordinary courts being deprived of their jurisdiction. The Governor of a province has the power of depriving a person who attacks him of his liberty of person and of his property without affording him a public opportunity of proving his allegations before the ordinary tribunals of the country. Under this law no Indian paper would venture to indulge in criticisms distasteful to the head of a province. Any agitation against the civil service or bureaucratic form of Government would scarcely be possible under the civilian head of a province. The Home Rule agitation, or in fact any constitutional agitation, may be suppressed without the interference of a judicial tribunal solely at the instance of an Executive Government. In these circumstances it seems to me to be imperative that the Indian element and the popular element should be powerful in the Government of a province. Otherwise we will certainly perpetuate all those evils due to the inutility of the Councils which, as forcibly pointed out in the Report, are responsible for the widening gulf between officials and non-officials.

Though the Report rightly points out the growing discontent and the widening gulf between the officials and the non-officials due to the inutility of the legislative councils, this redoubtable champion thinks that it has not brought out sufficiently that this is due to the official attitude. This veteran social reformer considers that "the troubles consequent upon the division of society by races, castes, and creeds, far from being any impediment in the way of reform, calls imperatively for great political reforms; and there is very good reason to believe that if the leaders of the various communities are left to compose the differences themselves, such conflicts will be far rarer, if they will not entirely disappear." He remarks truly that the past record of the Government is such that no weight would be attached in future to its promises and declarations. Says he :

Promises made as regards the admission of Indians into the public services without racial distinctions have not been kept. Reforms in the land revenue administration which are indispensable were promised by the Government and the promise has been withdrawn. The separation of judicial and executive functions was promised by the Government of India. It has not yet been effected. The orders of Lord Ripon and of Lord Morley about local Self-Government have been practically disregarded. The wishes of the King-Emperor as regards education have not been carried out. Steps necessary for the revival of industries have not been taken. In all these we have now passed beyond the stage of promise and, without actual performance, no weight would be given to our declarations.

Thus does he point out clearly that actual performances are absolutly essential if the people are to have any faith in the solicitude of the Government for their welfare.

Passing on to a consideration of the modifications suggested by the Government of India in their Despatch he knocks on the head the proposal that the permanent heads of departments and the secretaries under a minister should have access to the Governor to bring to his notice any case which they consider that the Governor should see. As the result of this proposal would naturally be to weaken considerably the position of the minister in relation to his subordinates, Sir Sankaran Nair is decidedly of opinion that "no secretary or head of a department should have any access to the Governor for this purpose. No

one should come between him and the Minister." After considering in detail the various proposals formulated by the Government of India under the head of "Transferred Subjects" Sir Sankaran Nair concludes thus :—

The cumulative effect of all these provisions is to place the Minister and the Legislative Council in relation to transferred departments not only in a position of no real responsibility but virtually in subordination to the Executive Council. The scheme, therefore, of my colleagues is directly against the announcement of the 20th August; it means altogether a negation of responsibility, and should not therefore be accepted. The departments of which the Minister will be placed in charge are bound to suffer under the proposed arrangement; and I have shown in my review of the present situtïon that they are not likely to receive any favourable treatment at the hands of the Executive Council.

In so far as this part of the scheme is concerned my criticism therefore is that while the policy decided upon by His Majesty's Government requires definite responsibility to be laid upon the Ministers for certain acts of the Government, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy would allow such responsibility only under the general supervision of the Governor; my colleagues would practically get rid of all such responsibility by converting the Minister into a subordinate executive officer, and the real Legislative Council into a subordinate body—subordinate to the Governor and the Executive Council, the latter being without any responsibility for the consequences,—though my colleagues in terms disclaim any intention to create an inferior Government under the superior provincial Government.

So far as taxation and budget are concerned Sir Sankaran Nair not only supports, as against the new proposals of his colleagues, the scheme in the Reforms Report but would also go a little further in the same direction by enacting that the Governor's power of restoring any provisions in the budget in the interests of reserved subjects should not be exercised so as to confer any benefits on the service which they would not obtain in the ordinary courses and the Governor should not be allowed without the sanction of the Secretary of State to restore any provision in the inserests of reserved subjects with reference to any matter for which the sanction of the Secretary of State is now required. Sir Sankaran explicitly disapproves of the proposal to constitute Grand Committees. He says: "The Grand Commitee, as constituted is obviously intended as a check on the popular assembly and is in itself therefore an undesirable institution. It creates an undesirable antagonism between a local executive and a local legislative council and if there are other means of attaining the same object in view, it is undesirable to retain it.........It must be borne in mind that the Grand Committee, though technically a part of the legislature, is brought into existence and will always be utilised to register the decrees of the executive government and may therefore be regarded as its agent for enacting measures rejected by the legislative council." Lastly he comes to the Council of State and puts forth his views on it in the following words:—

A Council of State as a second chamber representing interests not properly represented in the Imperial Assembly, I understand, and I raise no objection to it. A Coucil of State for the purpose of securing delay and for greater deliberation of subjects also might be necessary, and I would not raise any objection to such a Council either. But this Council of State is constituted for neither of these purposes. Its avowed purpose is to carry out the will of the Executive Government when they

cannot carry it out on account of the opposition of the Legislative Assembly. It is, in fact, an unreal Council. Rather than constitute such a Council, it is much better to lay on the Executive Council itself directly the obligation to pass the law. It will not then be exercised so frequently as it would now be with a State Council to give the measure that it passes an unreal appearance of popular support. It will belittle the importance of the Legislative Assembly and thus create an antagonism between it and the State Council and the Executive Government.

We think we have shown enough of the nature of these dissenting minutes. They make us feel proud of Sir Sankaran Nair. It was indeed very fortunate for the country that the right man was at the post at the right moment. His independence of spirit might have caused much annoyance to his colleagues but all the same, there he was, a factor to be reckoned with. Apart from his splendid past record, these dissenting minutes alone would entitle him to the grateful love of his countrymen. Whether in office or out of it he is certainly a source of strength to the popular cause. India is very much in need of such sons at the present moment and we trust with Sir. D. E. Wacha that his minutes of dissent would attract in England the attention they richly deserve.

Professor Seshadri on a University for Baroda.

(By Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar M. A.)

(*Concluded.*)

On some points however it might be open to disagree from this able Memorandum. It is not easy to see what special claims Political Science has for treatment as a separate branch by itself, in leading to a degree, apart from its associated study with Economics and History. As a teacher of the subject I can but see in the suggestion innumerable openings for defective perception of both the content and range of Politics. The tendency to theorise independently of concrete data is already sufficiently pronounced among Indian students of Political Science without a new University seeking to perpetuate the evil by providing further facilities therefor.

The reorganisation of Sanskrit education within the State is considered by Mr. Seshadri who does not however see any justification for the institution of an independent Oriental College. His eloquent plea for a classical side to the University should make profitable reading, particularly in South India where one is apt to import irrelevant considerations into the discussion of so important a question. Professor Seshadri wisely does not propose to relegate to the scrap-heap the traditional enlightenment of the Pandit but would retain it side by side with more modern forms of linguistic study.

One of the most valuable parts of the Memorandum is section 9, in which Professor Seshadri has entered a well-reasoned protest against what has been inelegantly termed a "Vernacular University." Even extreme advocates of the vernaculars, and "patriots" of the type to which the learning of English is anathema, might agree with a great deal of what Mr. Seshadri has urged. The study of English literature has claims on the whole world and it has very special claims on India. Our obligations are bi-lingual, if not multi-lingual, and it should be possible to recognise the need to develop the vernaculars *side by side* with the development of English studies in our Universities. After all, has not some of the rise of temperature in the discussions of the vernacular question been due, to some extent at least, to the vague feeling that the term "vernacular" implies an admission of inferiority, as compared with the recognised attractions of the word "classical"? One might wonder, at times, whether English, which practically every one wants to keep in our curricula, is a classical language or a vernacular?

A new line in the University admittedly exists for the addition to knowledge by research and the dissemination of knowledge by publication as much as by instruction. Mr. Seshadri has not lost sight of the possibilities in this direction and he proposes to retain in slightly improved forms the existing library organisations and the publishing departments in the State. A reading of his proposals leads however to some amount of dissatisfaction on account of their inadequacy. There appears also to be some misapprehension in regard to the nature of "seminar work" as distinguished from library classes. The conduct of seminars is, wherever seminar instruction has been successful, in the hands of the *leaders* of the branches of study in the University. A great library is of course vital for such advanced work as is postulated in seminar training. But the provision of such a library is different from the suggestion in the Memorandum that seminars might be continued in connection with the University library under the direction of *Tutors*.

It is perhaps the incidental defect of the conservative tradition in which the present writer has been brought up that he is unable to see the connection between the retention of some of the sides of library organisations of Baroda at the present time such as cinema shows, children's sections, story telling classes etc., as well as the suggested provision of courses in such valuable subjects as "enlightened mothering" and the work of a *University*. It might be possible to recognise the unity of education and the inter-dependence of its branches without going so far as to accept such novel features in our University programmes. The treatment of the relations of science and humanism, and the proper planning of vocational and technological training in the Memorandum is what one should have desired. Mr. Seshadri does not recommend the institution of a College of Commerce though he is in favour of advanced schools in Law and Teaching and institutes in Applied Sciences, in the University.

The treatment of such questions as the need to show special consideration for poor and deserving students, the extension of the benefit of university education in the State to those who are not State-subjects, the re-planning of the exmination system so as to avoid the present appalling educational wastage are some of the incidental suggestions thrown out in the Memorandum. These are, however, essentially questions for the University itself to deal with, after its organisation, and emphasis in a Note of this kind is apt to obscure a proper appreciation of the true proportions of the scheme outlined.

Whatever be the aims with which a University might start, however liberally it might be endowed, and however opulent it be in the matter of adequate equipment and eminence in staff, its *continued* success will depend very largely upon the kind of organisation provided for it. This is the reason for the very considerable amount of space allotted to the question of the *constitution* of a University in reports like those of Lord Haldane's Committee on London University and in the weighty monographs of great university experts like President Charles W. Eliot. It is to be regretted that for reasons which are not indicated, the treatment of this important aspect of University-planning for Baroda is the least satisfactory part of this weighty Memorandum. The defect is to be seen not only in the inadequate space given to the consideration of this question but in the narrowness of the outlook revealed by Mr. Seshadri's all-too-brief suggestions themselves.

Outside a thinning circle of "experts" in our country, it is now almost generally admitted that in framing a constitution for a modern University the things to look to are mainly the safeguarding of the purely academic part of the University's activities by vesting their organisation and control in the hands of an Academic Body e.g., "Massed" Faculties, composed exclusively of the teaching element in the University, the relegation of the administration in the University, including the financial work to a small, practically permanent committee of business men, who possess a proper University training, and who need not, and *should* not to any great extent be edu-

cationists, and the formation of a large general assembly, as the Body Corporate of the University, which should have only the functions of according final sanction to proposals made by the academic and the executive bodies and of pronouncing on the wider public aspects of general University questions, and which should be so constituted as to ensure an intimate connection between the University and the outside world. In Mr. Seshadri's scheme the confusion between academic, executive, legislative and publicity functions that have to be provided for in a University in *different* bodies, and which in our University are often discharged *concurrently* by bodies, like the Senate and the Syndicate, are not merely retained but are even exaggerated. In view of the notable stand made by the "extreme right" of academic opinion in India in favour of a University for the future, in which the Government and the schoolmaster shall dominate, it is pleasing to recognise the admissions in recent reports like the last Quinquennial Review and the Reform Report of the evils that have resulted from the failure to discriminate between the different functions of the University and to take the capacity to discharge a particular function as *the* test of one's eligibility to be on a body designed to discharge that function. It is one of the regrettable features of recent times that in the agitation to get due recognition of the legitimate claims of the teaching profession, teachers have often gone to the length of claiming pre-eminence not only in fields in which such pre-eminence would have been readily conceded them but in more controversial directions as well. In Mr. Seshadri's scheme the University would be practically a limb of the State, and its Senate and Syndicate will be bad replicas of the existing Senates and Syndicates of the older Indian Universities.

The Senate which is to consist of 50 members will have under the scheme about 40 members who would hold their offices ex-officio, leaving a margin of 10 out of which Mr. Seshadri proposes to make provision "for the *adequate* representation of public interests by allowing *some* fellows to be elected by such electorates as local bodies, graduates of the State, non-official associations, etc." not forgetting "the Headmasters of High Schools, since they prepare the students of the University," and the provision of a *few* seats on the Senate which are to be filled up by nomination by the Chancellor so as to secure the advice of outside experts! Unless there is an error in the Baroda Civil List or in arithmetic, it is really difficult to see how all this is to be done unless the *liberal* provision contemplated is to be taken as not more than the fraction of a representative for each of the influential interests for which the need to provide *adequately* is admitted in the Memorandum. The Syndicate, which will be the creature of a Senate thus constituted, will naturally prove only slightly different from the existing syndicates in that it would be more officialised and less academic in character then they are.

In suggesting the *modus operandi* for carrying out the idea of a University for Baroda Mr. Seshadri outlines the scheme for a committee to consider the whole question. We trust that when such an influential body is formed by His Highness the Gaekwar advantage will be taken not merely to provide for its service the wide outlook, great learning and powers of comprehensive vision displayed in this notable Memorandum, but that such limitations as have been indicated in an otherwise admirable scheme will also receive some measure of consideration. Such a step will not only lead to the speedy realisation of the wishes of those who desire a University in Baroda, but will guarantee that the institution so started will be well in line with the best modern ideals in regard to University planning.

Notes and Comments.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's term of office has at last come to a close as everything in this mundane world does. India may now feel relief. He has left behind him one permanent record. The dictionary is made richer by the addition of the new word *O'Dwyerism*. India will surely not forget him for a long time to come.

***

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay makes the following statesmanlike observations in the course of his minute on the Reform scheme.

"I am only concerned to express my profound conviction, held before I arrived in India and deepened still further in the few weeks I have been in India, that time is a factor of vital importance in the consideration of the whole question of reform. I am convinced that delay is a greater danger even than an imperfect scheme, and that those of us on whom must fall the heavy burden of putting reforms schemes into actual operation, will be better able to work an imperfect scheme with the good-will and confidence of all concerned than to operate a more perfect scheme—if one can be devised—when confidence and good-will has been broken and alienated by disappointment and delay."

How noble is the sentiment and how true are the observations.

* * *

Speaking of the optimistic views he took regarding the chances of the reform scheme, Sir Dinshaw Wacha said that his faith in John Bull's common sense and love of justice was great, and it was this faith which had animated his co-workers like Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji, Sri Pherozshah Mehta and Mr. Gokhale and he did not know why he should not rely on it. He said that the modifications proposed by the Government of India were no improvements except in the sense they were improvements backwards. He paid a glowing tribute to Sir Sankaran Nair, and said it was of immense value to the country that when the whole Government of India was reactionary, there was one man in it who was not, and who stated the Indian side of the case from their standpoint. If he could rely upon his experiences Sir Dinshaw said, he could safely assure them that the whole of the Government of India's despatch would become insignificant. The question the British Cabinet would ask themselves was to the points raised by Sir C. Sankaran Nair and the eventuality would be that his minute would stand and the whole of the Government of India's despatch would be swept away overboard. He hoped such a fate would overtake the despatch and that was the very natural course which common sense and love of justice would suggest itself to John Bull.

* * *

In the course of his reminiscences in the "Looker-on" Mr. Eardley Norton writes as follows.

The Government sought trouble, and now they have got it. The opposition,—though the Government professes not to believe it—to the Rowlatt Acts is deep seated and sincere. The Government have undoubtedly made out their case for the existence of organised and dangerous conspiracies which sought, however foolishly, to overthrow the British Government by anarchy and revolution, which believed that political enfranchisement could be secured by assassination, and which preferred to the long-drawn agony of constitutional agitation, the assumed celebrity of the revolver and the bomb. When I touch later upon the Alipur case, in which I prosecuted, I shall have some interesting history to offer. But the reply to political revolt is not a suspension of the ordinary safeguards which protect all accused persons and ask to ensure an impartial trial. The Government is as wrong in its belief to-day that the removal of the ordinary safeguards can secure loyalty, as was Barendra Kumar Ghose in his faith that the ordinary routes were too lengthy and that safety lay in the speedier solution with revolver and gun-powder. Barendra's attack has left the British Government unshaken. Deprivation of accustomed protection will leave unshaken the belief that British justice in India is not now-a-days always just. It is far more important in the interests of the State that faith in its impartiality should not be disturbed, than that the rapidity of punishment should strike terror into the hearts of evil-doers.

The evil-doers are few; the citizens numerous. There is no gain in terrifying the few if simultaneously you horrify the many into a state of intellectual revolt against your methods and your morals. If the courts are slow, multiply the courts and appoint judges more conversant with the law. No Government guilty of the scandal of the Delhi finance can make any plea of financial deficiency. Whether you multiply your courts or not, justice is quite speedy enough,

I write at first hand. I have witnessed and survived horrors enough in Ceylon and India, where tribunals, exempt from supervision, from appeal, from public opinion, have held themselves free to travel the road to conviction with no respect to the law and less to the facts. And the men who do these things are made Peers! It does hurt one to lose faith in the House of Lords; but it hurts to lose faith in British justice and fair play. Every man is entitled to a fair trial. I have the high authority of a Special Tribunal himself supplementing my own experience. But these Special Courts are not always fair, India is not ripe for unharnessing judges from the security of appeals. Courts are too official, the atmosphere too impregnated with prejudice to deprive an accused of his right to appeal.

* * *

Sir Rabindranath Tagore has addressed the following letter to H. E. the Viceroy :—

The enormity of the measures taken by Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has with a rude shock revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parrellel in the history of civilised governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population disarmed and resourceless by a power which has a most terribly efficient organisation for the destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of the insults and sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence, reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony and indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers, possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine are salutary lessons. This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers, which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings without receiving the least check from the same authority relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from organs representing the sufferers.

Knowing our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government, which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral tradition, the very least I can do for my country is to take all the consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of millions of my countrymen surprised into the dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when the badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation and I, for my part, wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings, and these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask Your Excellency, with due deference and regret, to relieve me of my title of knighthood, which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor, for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures now being delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA II.

(*continued.*)

या निशा सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी ।
यस्यां जाग्रति भूतानि सा निशा पश्यतो मुनेः ॥

In the time which is night to all beings, the self-controlled man is awake, the time wherein all beings are awake is the time of sleep for the sage of true vision.

Notes:

1. The Lord contrasts here in felicitous terms the knower and the ignorant man. The night of the ignorant is wisdom because they see nothing in it. In such a night of wisdom the sage is awake. The day of the ignorant is that dense darkness of *avidya* where like owls the ignorant keep up a fitful activity. In relation to such dense darkness the attitude of the sage full of the light of god-realisation is the attitude of one to the darkness of night—a feeling

of dissatisfaction and desire to turn away from it.

2. The meaning may also be put tersely thus—God is like dark night to us but the sage sees Him and enjoys Him like day. The world is like day to us but the sage moves in it as in a dark night.

3. The Scripture declares :

यदा पंचावतिष्ठन्ते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह ।

बुद्धिश्च निविचेष्टेत तामाहुः परमां गतिम् ॥

4. Sri Sankara says well that in the presence of jnana, avidya disappears. विद्यायां हि सत्यामुदिते सवितरि शार्वरमिव तमः प्रणाशमुपगच्छत्यविद्या ।

5. The Vartikakara says :

कारकव्यवहारे हि शुद्धं वस्तु न वीक्ष्यते ।

शुद्धे वस्तुनि सिद्धे च कारकव्यापृतिस्तथा ॥

काकोलूकनिशेवायं संसारोऽज्ञात्मवेदिनोः ।

या निशा सर्वभूतानामित्यवोचत्स्वयं हरिः ॥

6. The realisation of the unity of everything is thus described by the Scripture : यत्र वा अन्यदिव स्यात्तत्रान्योऽन्यत्पश्येत् यत्र त्वस्य सर्वमात्मैवाभूत् तत्केन कं पश्येत् ।

आपूर्यमाणमचलप्रतिष्ठं

समुद्रमापः प्रविशन्ति यद्वत् ।

तद्वत्कामा यं प्रविशन्ति सर्वे

स शान्तिमाप्नोति न कामकामी ॥ ७० ॥

He attaineth Peace into whom all desires enter as the water enters the ocean which is ever being filled and is yet ever steadfast and unagitated :—not he who is a desirer of desires.

NOTES :

1. The rivers entering the ocean lose the various specific characteristics of their waters and are assimilated to the ocean. *Nama* and *Rupa* disappear. Even so the sense-enjoyments entering the mind of the man of realisation became transformed into the ineffable peace of Brahmananda.

2. चित्तमेव हि संसारस्तत्प्रयत्नेन शोधयेत् Hence, the mind has to be purified to win god.

3. The mind is either impure or pure. The former binds us and the latter frees us.

मनो हि द्विविधं प्रोक्तं शुद्धं चाशुद्धमेव च ।

अशुद्धं कामसंकल्पं शुद्धं कामविवर्जितम् ॥

मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयोः ।

बन्धाय विषयासक्तं मुक्त्यै निर्विषयं स्मृतं ॥

विहाय कामान्यः सर्वान्पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः ।

निर्ममो निरहंकारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥ ७१ ॥

He who gives up all desires and lives in dispassion, without selfishness and egotism attaineth peace.

NOTES :

1. शान्ति Moksha. सर्वसंसारदुःखोपरमत्वलक्षणां (Sri Sankara).

एषा ब्राह्मी स्थितिः पार्थ नैनां प्राप्य विमुह्यति ।

स्थित्वास्यामन्तकालेऽपि ब्रह्म निर्वाणमृच्छति ॥ ७२ ॥

This is the Brahmic state, O Partha, on attaining which illusion ceases and by being steadfast in which, even at the close of his life, a man attains the bliss of God-realisation.

NOTES :

1. Sri Ramanuja says well : निर्वाणमयं ब्रह्म गच्छति । सुखैकतानमात्मानमाप्नोतीत्यर्थः ।

2. Parikshit attained such bliss and Khatvanga also attained it as stated in the Bhagavata.

विज्ञाय चरमावस्थां देवताभ्यो नृपोत्तमः ।

खट्वाङ्गो नाम राजर्षिर्मुहूर्तें मुक्तिमेयिवान् ॥

Random Jottings.

[BY A SON OF INDIA.]

Our amiable contemporary, the *Pioneer* is not sorry for the resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair. And why should it be? Has he not presumed to 'harangue' the Olympian Gods—no matter where justice lay? Would it not be enough to tire them out? It was indeed lucky for Sir Sankaran to have got out before his opponents resorted to *argumentum baculinum*.

* * *

The Indians have been reputed to be the most grateful people on Earth, but the Pioneer has, true to its name and instincts, obtained the credit for exploding the myth. Sir Sankaran Nair who has been "incident-

ally produced" by the 'British Raj' against whom he has now turned. And truly may the *Pioneer* lament its lack of poetic genius to portray this act of base ingratitude. But we may be pardoned if we take the liberty to point out that Sir Sankaran Nair was produced not because of, but *in spite of* the 'British Raj.' The Raj may however take credit for the fact that there is but one Sankaran Nair.

***

So elections have been ordered to fill the vacancies on the Imperial Legislative Council caused by the resignation of the anti-Rowlatt-law champions. The best way of showing to the authorities that the action taken by the really honourable members has the entire and unqualified support of the constituents would be to return the same gentlemen unopposed. Of course interested individuals will not be wanting who will warily push in the question of the ethics of the resignation and the re-election. But they carry with them their own condemnation.

***

Section 101 (2) i of the Government of India Act 1915 lays down that "the Governor General in Council may appoint persons to act as additional judges of any High Court for such period, not exceeding two years." To the layman devoid of any knowledge of the freaks of the law, it would appear that the maximum time for which H. E. the Viceroy can appoint temporary judges without passing through the inconvenient formality of obtaining His Majesty's sanction, and that when a temporary judgeship has been in existence for two years must either be confirmed or abolished. But we forget that LAW can mean one thing to you and quite a different thing to another.

***

Titles and Honours! What a rush is there for them. Thank God, all is not darkness yet—we have a few loadstars still left. The same indiscrimination appears to be rank everywhere—not even ideal England excepted: so much so that there the Government have been asked to append the circumstances justifying the award of the title. If the same procedure were to be adopted here in India with retrospective effect, what a ludicrous state of affairs would it disclose! Indiscriminate favouritism, undeserved patronage will all leap out from their dark abodes. Many a haughty head proud in the possession of a title—no matter whether a poor Rai Sahib or an exalted G. C. B.—will have to hang down vexatious and disconcerted.

***

The ways of our Government are mysterious. We can understand why the cosmos was created, why a man is not a triped and why out of evil cometh good—more easily more rationally than one can solve the workings of our Government. The other day they deprived a man of his insignificant 'Khan Sahib' or some such thing, but would not for the last twelve months and more take back their honours 'declined' by Dr. Subrahmanya Aiyar and Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Achariar of Salem. The Quarterly Civil list which purports to have been "corrected up to 30th April 1919" still persists in *honouring* these gentlemen who refuse to be so *honoured*. Tagore, India's Poet-laureate has renounced his knighthood. What will the Government do?

The Philosophy of Education.

[By M. S. Nateson.]

"What is education? What is philosophy? And how far are the two connected with each other?" These questions naturally arise in the mind of one who sees the title of this paper. That education means to lead or draw out and that philosophy is the science of things human and divine and of the causes in which they are contained, in brief, that philosophy is the science of science, every one knows or is supposed to know. But I shall attempt in this paper to show how far the two are related the one to the other.

The definition above given of philosophy by Sir V. Hamilton is comprehensive enough. Clearly and distinctly he says that philosophy is the science of things human as well as superhuman and of the cause in which these things are contained. Beautifully has Chaucer described philosophy as practical wisdom. Let me be understood then as representing the practical, not theoretical, wisdom of the science called education.

Education has been spoken of by psychologists as a science whose principles and methods the teacher ought to be acquainted with. Every science is investigable and

when education is spoken of as a science its methods and principles are in duty bound to be investigated. Still more is it necessary to deeply enquire into the science or practical wisdom of the science of education, setting aside for the time being all other considerations.

As an Advaita Vedantin, I hold that man is potentially divine, that somehow or other, as the result of actions in previous incarnations, he feels himself bound to his body, he thinks himself as the body. The Vedanta refers to the innate divinity and perfection of man when it calls upon him in bold and unmistakeable language "EKAM SADVIPRA BAHUDHA VADANTI" and "TATTVAMASI". To make man insignificant in the multitude of universal existence, realise his innate divine nature is the purpose of religion; and what does the educator do? He leads or draws out the potential energy of man to make it reveal itself as kinetic, he manifests the perfection already existing in man. One of the most beautiful definitions of education that I have come across is from the pen of that illustrious scion of mother India, the Swami Vivekananda; he says, "Education is the manifestation of the perfection already in man; religion is the manifestation of the divinity already in man." Dear reader, permit me to add here, "Divinity being perfect, education and religion come to mean the same thing."

Believe me, reader, when I tell you that education and religion mean the same, I do not for a moment confound the one with the other; nor am I dragging you into that controversial of subjects, the field of religion. I know positively that there are among you persons of various religions; and even among those that call themselves Hindus, there are some who are absolutely irreligious. The latter are of two kinds; the reasoning atheists and the not thinking careless men. With the last I have no concern; to all others my point will be extremely clear from the following extracts from Professor Huxley and Herbert Spencer.

"True science and true religion," says Professor Huxley at the close of a recent course of lectures, "these are twin-sisters and the separation of either from the other is sure to prove the death of both. Science prospers exactly in proportion as it is religious; and religion flourishes in exact proportion to the scientific depth and firmness of its basis. The great deeds of philosophers have been less the fruit of their intellect than of the direction of that intellect by an eminently religious tone of mind. Truth has yielded herself rather to their patience, their love, their single-heartedness and their self-denial, than to their logical intellectual acumen."

"The discipline of Science" writes Herbert Spencer, "is superior to that of ordinary education, because of the religious culture that it gives. Of course we do not here use the words scientific and religious in their ordinary limited acceptations, but in their widest and highest acceptations. Doubtless to the superstitions that pass under the name of religion, science is antagonistic; but not to the essential religion which these superstitions merely hide. Doubtless, too, in much of the science that is current, there is a pervading spirit of irreligion; but not in that true science which has passed beyond the superficial into the profound.

"So far from Science being irreligious, as many think, it is the neglect of Science that is irreligious...it is the refusal to study the surrounding creation that is irreligious. Take a humble simile. (The following is an adaptation of a story from the Upanishads.) Suppose a writer were daily saluted with praises couched in superlative language. Suppose the wisdom, the grandeur, the beauty of his works were the constant topics of the eulogies addressed to him. Suppose those who unceasingly uttered these eulogies on his works were content with looking at the outside of them; and had never opened them, much less tried to understand them. What value should we put upon their praises? What should we think of their sincerity? Yet, comparing small things to great, such is the conduct of mankind in general, in reference to the Universe and its Cause. Nay, it is worse. Not only do they pass by, without study, these things which they daily proclaim to be so wonderful; but very frequently they condemn as mere triflers those who give time to the observation of nature—they actually scorn those who show any active interest in these marvels. We repeat then that not science, but the neglect of science, is irreligious. Devotion to science is a tacit worship—a tacit recognition of worth in the things

studied; and by implication is their cause. It is not mere lip-homage, but a homage expressed in actions—not a mere professed respect, but a respect proved by the sacrifice of time, thought and labour.

"Nor is it thus only that true science is essentially religious, too, in as much as it generates a profound respect for and an implicit faith in, those uniformities of action which all things disclose. By accumulated experiences the man of science acquires a thorough belief in the unchanging relations of phenomena—in the invariable connection of cause and consequence—in the necessity of good or evil results. Instead of the rewards and punishments of traditional belief, which people vaguely hope they may gain, or escape, spite of their disobedience he finds that there are rewards and punishments in the ordained constitution of things; and that the evil results of disobedience are inevitable. He sees that the laws to which we must submit are both inexorable and beneficent. He sees that in conforming to them the process of things is ever towards a greater perfection and a higher happiness. Hence he is led constantly to insist on them and is indignant when they are disregarded. And thus does he, by asserting the eternal principles of things and the necessity of obeying them, prove himself intrinsically religious.

"And lastly the further religious aspect of science, that it alone can give us true conceptions of ourselves and our relation to the mysteries of existence. At the same time that it shows us all which can be known, it shows us the limits beyond which we can know nothing. (NA TATRA CHAKSHUR GACCHATI NA VAGGACCHATI NO MANAH) Not by dogmatic assertion does it teach the impossibility of comprehending the Ultimate Cause of things: but it leads us clearly to recognise this impossibility by bringing us in every direction to boundaries we cannot cross. It realises to us in a way which nothing else can, the littleness of human intelligence in the face of that which transcends human intelligence. While towards the traditions and authorities of men its attitude may be proud, before the impenetrable veil which hides the Absolute its attitude is humble—a true pride and a true humility. Only the sincere man of science (and by this title we do not mean the mere calculator of distances, or analyser of compounds, or labeller of species; but him who through lower truths seeks higher, and eventually the highest)—only the genuine man of science, we say, can truly know how utterly beyond, not only human knowledge but human conception, is the universal power of which Nature and Life and Thought are manifestations."

(To be continued.)

Constitutionl Struggle for Liberty.

(By P. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A., B.L.)

(concluded.)

"Personally I do not like your model provinces," said the Governor, "When I was first appointed to this province, I knew nothing of the people. You have been here for the last quarter of a century. I entirely relied on you, and signed as you directed me. My friends in England had informed me before starting for India that I must entirely rely on the Members of the Executive Council. I did so. What do I find? The province is in a state bordering on civil war. You want to rule it under a sort of martial law. How often I argued with you, and protested that the educated classes are the natural leaders of the people in every country; you posed as the guardian and trustee of the masses. Whenever there was friction with the Ministers for transferred departments, I advised you to yield to their wishes. But you had your own ideas of prestige, power and authority. I wanted to construe the Instrument of Instructions in a liberal way. But you said that instructions were intended as a sop to noisy demagogues, and never intended to be acted upon. That is the official practice you said. I had no other go but to yield to you. At first I expected that the Indian member of the Executive Council would side me in the matter of any difference between you and me. He more often agreed with you than with me; so it came to pass that you both out-voted me in the Executive Council. I was absolutely powerless. Mr. Facing-both-ways was invariably on your side; his views, ideals and stand-points were almost the same as yours. So my liberalism vanished into the air. All my pious resolu-

tions for playing the part of a constitutional ruler as in a self-governing colony, crumbled to dust. I sometimes think of resigning and going home."

"I deeply regret that such perverse views should dominate your mind at a time when the enemy is at our door," said Mr. B. D. Hard, "If you had been appointed to a self-governing colony or province like Madras or Bombay, you might have been a constitutional ruler, and found inexhaustible pleasure in being a signing machine, revelling in laying foundation stones or unveiling statues, and regularly drawing your salary for discharging the onerous duties of signing all documents placed before you by your ministers. But the Montagu Scheme left the power and the responsibility on the shoulders of the Governor and his Executive Council. We cannot shirk our duties and responsibilities imposed upon us by law. I would request you to read carefully the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Constitutional Reforms, and the subsequent enactment passed embodying the proposals therein; you would see that the bureaucratic character of the administration is not changed; and certain opportunities are given to elected members for getting themselves trained in the art of popular government. We have been exercising our rights and privileges under the scheme. You complain that we have not surrendered our rights to irresponsible recruits and wind-bags who would have made a mess of the whole thing; you say that the educated classes are the natual leaders of the people. It might be so in England or America; not so in this country. The ignorant and illiterate ryot wants that the British should always rule the country, and has no respect or regard for Indian administrators. How else could it be? These so-called leaders are mostly lawyers, and have no influence whatsoever on the masses. No good thing can come out of them. I would even go to the length of saying that the educated classes have not changed the course of world's history anywhere."

"I see you have forgotten all your history when you became a member of the Indian Civil Service," rejoined the Governor, "By whom were revolutions brought about in France, England or America? It was the educated few who ordered the hanging of Charles I, and brought about the revolution in England in 1688. It was the educated few who were the authors of the French Revolution, and guillotined the French King. It was the educated few who declared the war of American War of Independence. What is the fun of your declaring that in this country alone that the educated few are not the natural leaders of the people and have no influence over them. Indians are as much human beings as ourselves. In every democratic or enlightened country lawyers predominate in legislative assemblies; it is but natural. Those who studied law, and have been trained as lawyers would naturally exert influence in any assembly which sits for making laws, reforming or revising the laws of the realm. As far as I can see, your fault and the fault of those who think like you lies in mistaking human weaknesses, and human frailities for national ones."

Mr. Mulrojee Row intervened at this stage and said: "No doubt, lawyers wield enormous influence in every legislative assembly. But in this country all your generalisations are made subject to the influence of caste. The system is rotten and indefensible. Nevertheless its influence pervades every strata of Indian society. Therefore you are wrong, Sir, in your conclusions. As an Indian, I would like that Indian society was not permeated by the artificial distinctions of caste. It is this vicious factor which falsifies your conclusions."

"Certainly not, Mr. Mulrojee Row," the Governor continued "I am old enough to perceive the fallacy of your contentions. I have lived in England, Ireland, America, France and South Africa. Compare the eternal conflict between the Catholic and the Protestant in Ireland, the ever-increasing strife between the French Catholic Canadian, and the British Protestant Canadian, the frequent friction between the Boer and the Britain in South Africa, and the yawning gulf between a Negro or coloured voter and the white voter in the United States of America; your caste difference pales into insignificance before such terrible instances of social cleavage. Further caste differences do not end in bloodshed and murder. It is convenient to throw the bogey of caste over an educated Indian who pants for liberty in his own country. Further you find that in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta the administ-

ration is carried on healthy lines. I feel sure that with the increasing influence of education and enlightened administration such differences will gradually disappear."

"I agree with our Governor", said Mr. Facing-both-ways who had been a silent spectator till now, "that education is a great levelling agency pulling down, and pulling up, levelling and merging all social distinctions. I hear that a deputation of twenty elected members headed by Mr. D. Abhiman will go to Calcutta to lay down their grievances at the foot of the throne. They have drawn up a petition, I am told, and had it printed, requesting the Viceroy to grant Home-Rule Assemblies as at Calcutta and Madras, and complaining that the scheme of Mr. Montagu was too complicated, too impracticable and intricate to suit modern requirements. I am trying to get a copy of the petition. I think it would be advisable to depute Mr. Hard to Calcutta for controverting their statements; otherwise *ex parte* judgment might be passed condemning the scheme. The controversy has reached an acute stage in Nagpore. It should not be condemned unheard."

Mr. B. D. Hard, I.C.S., said that they had already sent a despatch with a memorandum suggesting that, as the province was in a very backward condition, and a few noisy agitators had rendered the harmonious working of the scheme impossible, the Legislative Councils with elected members might be abolished, and a Legislative Council on the lines of Lord Cross' Act of 1892 might be reconstituted with a few well-chosen elected members for official guidance. He thought that no personal representations were needed under the stress of war.

Mr. Mulrojee Row C.I.E. agreed with Mr. D. Hard, and did not like the idea of meeting frothy agitators face to face, thus placing themselves on a level with them. The Governor thought a personal representation would be preferable.

Mr. Hard I.C.S., finding that he might be out-voted in the Executive Council, suggested that the subject might be dropped for the present. He said that, after seeing the petition, they would be in a position to say whether any unfounded statements were made in the petition and whether it would be necessary to contradict them. He further offered to send for Mr. D. Abhiman, and ascertain the truth of the information.

While they were engaged in such a desultory talk, Mr. D. Abhiman arrived, and forwarded a petition to the Viceroy requesting the Governor to transmit it formally. The Governor was also informed that a copy of their Petition of Rights had been posted to the Viceroy.

"You call it a Petition of Rights," said Mr. Hard, "It is strange you have christened it so."

"It is nothing strange, Sir. India is the land of my birth. I want to breathe the fresh air of liberty in my own country. I do not want to be under perpetual tutelage, and be in the leading strings of an alien bureaucracy in my mother-land. The present atmosphere of racial inferiority is choking our life, sapping our vitality, and curbing all our manly self-respect" was the vehement reply of Mr. Abhiman.

"How often will you say it?" asked Mr. Hard.

"As long as my life lasts, till we gain our liberty" replied Mr. Abhiman.

The Governor advised him not to be excited, and promised to send his petition to the Viceroy.

Later in the day, the Governor received an urgent telegraphic communication from the Viceroy, acknowledging the receipt of the Despatch suggesting constitutional changes, and also intimating that a Petition of Rights signed by twenty elected members of the Nagpore Legislative Council had been transmitted to him direct, and a Deputation of the members requested an interview with the Viceroy and his Council. Permission was granted, and 25th has been fixed for hearing the Deputation. The telegram suggested the desirability of deputing Mr. D. Hard the Senior Member of the Executive Council to Calcutta for helping the Viceroy.

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Wit and Wisdom.

The proceedings of the council of ten are the subject of the following animadversions in a London Journal.

Ten Great Big Delegates in a Peace combine.
One posed the Fourteen Points, then there were nine.
Nine Great Big Delegates, debating soon and late,
One yawned himself to death; then there were eight.
Eight Great Big Delegates remaking earth and heaven,
One put in a word for God; then there were seven.
Seven Great Big Delegates, in a Russia fix.
One suggested Prinkipo; then there were six.
Six Great Big Delegates, boasting "How we thrive!"
One muttered 'Yugo-Slav'; then there were five.
Five Great Big Delegates, would force the Danzig door,
The Hun said 'Verboten'; then there were four.
Four Great Big Delegates, discuss indemnitee.
One wired for his ship: then there were three.
Three Great Big Delegates, wanting to get through,
One claimed the Rhine frontier; then there were two.
Two Great Big Delegates, with tasks but yet begun.
One displeased Lord Northcliffe; then there was one.
One Great Big Delegate, who'd stick it till he'd done,
He died of old age, and then there was none.

Olla Podrida.

Reuter tells us that Rantzau read out his speech at the Peace Conference sitting. The excuse given was that Rantzau could not trust his knees. We wonder why he became weak-kneed.

* * *

The House of Lords has passed a Bill to the effect that women can become magistrates. Is there any great virtue in becoming magistrates? The Pope declares: "Fair tresses man's imperial race ensnare." She is to do it in a *literal* sense hereafter and perhaps fail to do it in a figurative sense.

* * *

Mantime a portion of the Indian womanhood is up in arms. It is demanding the vote. Mrs. Cousins is leading the forlorn hope to victory. By the bye, where is the previous self-constituted leader—Mrs. Jinarajadasa. An Indian lady discovered sometime ago that woman is the barometer of civilisation. Why is she a barometer and why should barometers have votes? Why is that old article by that lady republished in a recent issue of *New India*?

* * *

These are days of gyrarchy. America has got a D. D. C. Do you know what it is? It is the Decent Dress Committee. Now-a-days there are commitees for all sorts of things in the world. Is woman made for fashion or fashion for woman, asks the *Madras Times* on 24th May. Who can answer?

* * *

The same issue brings us the news that a Bill has been introduced into the State Legislature of Florida making the proviso that "from and after equal suffrage has been established in Florida, it shall be lawful for females to don and wear the wearing apparel of man as now publicly worn by him." Hurrah! Will she go in also for moustaches and beards?

* * *

Such is the New Reform. At 15 College Square, Calcutta, a society called Hindu Social Reform League has been started for reforming Hindu Society and for the preservation of the Hindu race. Hitherto the upstart Hindu race which did not know how to live was in danger of extinction. Fortunately it is to be saved.

* * *

At Jalalpur a Mahomedan inspector of schools was asked to lay the foundation stone of a Hindu temple. What wonderful Hindu-Moslem amity! Very soon a Mahomedan may do *puja* also in a Hindu temple. You see he looks like a Rishi.

* * *

At Veda Vilas Mr. Viresalingam Pantulu died a few days ago. There is a grim irony of fate in this as he was against the Vedas all his life.

SCRUTATOR.

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